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796 ments, the decorations ordinarily varying from one ceremony to an-
302 other. Musical instruments are used—a drum, a wooden trumpet, sing-
534 ing sticks, or bull roarer.

A fundamental conceptual scheme runs through all the ceremonies; the various dramatic sections portray the myth by dance and song. For the western European, this whole totemic ceremonial behavior might be compared to a Wagnerian opera, with the myth as libretto; the motifs, like that of the snake swallowing the women, first expressed in a phrase or two, are later elaborated; and certain motifs, highly elaborate in some of the ceremonies, are only hinted at in others. For the reason that here we have ceremonies treated separately by the natives which they yet realize fit into a larger whole, the totality may, without too much stretching, be compared to the Nibelungen Ring. The fundamental difference is that the story is not a myth to them but a dogma and has the same ceremonial significance to the Murngin as the Mass to a believing Catholic.

852 Shortly after the rainy season is ended, the waters of the many lakes are receding, and the long dry period of plenty begins, the various clans of the Murngin and other northeastern Arnhem Land tribes perform their principal interclan circumcision, the Djungguan, which also serves as a *rite de passage* for the older boys.

A. The Preliminaries

1. Yurlunggur is made; its first blowing announces that a Djungguan has started.
2. The little boys are taken from their mothers. They are decorated and sent on a journey.
3. The camp is divided into its sacred and profane sections. The Warn-gai-tja is made and placed in the main camp.

1. When the leader of the Djungguan has conferred with his blood brothers, the other old men of the clan, and usually the older men of the surrounding friendly clans, upon the advisability of having a Djungguan, the ceremony starts. A number of the older men go out
852 into the surrounding bush and pick out a small tree the core of which
534 has been eaten out by termites so that only a thin outer layer of the trunk remains. This is cut down, cleaned out, and formed into a large trumpet, which in a later section of the ceremony (E) is painted, and becomes a totemic emblem representative of the great python deity, Yurlunggur. It is then taken to the old men's ground and placed

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either in a special house made for it or within a clearing inside the jungle thicket. All this is done without ceremony. The trumpet is usually blown to ascertain if it has good tone and carrying quality, and also to indicate to all the tribe then present that preparations are under way for a Djungguan. 852 534

Normally two boys are initiated at one time. The fathers are approached for their permission to circumcise their sons.—Frequently the fathers petition the leader to initiate their sons, saying, "I'll give you presents of spears and my totemic emblem string if you will make this little son of mine a young man [yaoer-in]." 852

The boy may belong to a clan of either moiety. When the father decides that his son is old enough he informs him he must cease from being a child (dje-mer-ku-li) and become a yaoerin. The fathers, if asked by the leaders, always give their permission, unless they have decided to have their boys initiated in some other locality.

2. The little boys who are to be circumcised are told by their fathers and the other older men, "The Great Father Snake smells your foreskin. He is calling for it." The boys believe this to be literally true and become extremely frightened. Usually they take refuge with their mother, mother's mother, or some other favorite female relative, for they know that the men are organized to see that they are taken to the men's ground, where the great snake is bellowing.

The men take the boys from their mothers, the other women, and uninitiated children. All the female relatives grab up spears and spear-throwers and pretend to fight the men to prevent them from removing the boys. Some of the women, as do the men, participate in this ritual act in a spirit of play, others wail ceremonially, and some of the nearer female relatives shed real tears, both for the loss of the boy and the fact that he must go through the ordeal of circumcision.—All this is to make the boy think that the women are protecting him from the great snake, and, symbolically, to keep the great snake from swallowing him.

Some of the women talk to each other while they form a ring around the boy to protect him from the men: "Our sons [brothers, et cetera] have [or they are going to have] a great multitude of relatives, and their people are to be found everywhere. Our sons have many possessions. They have killed many kangaroos, wallabies, and birds, and they have speared many fish and turtles. Our sons and brothers have gone many places and speak many languages, and they have many presents from all their people." All this is exaggerated, but it is said for 852 777

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852 group (see pages 39-51 for the list of totems possessed by the local clans), beginning with the great rock python Yurlunggur.

One man of this clan (or of another clan in the Dua moiety) leaves the circle and walks to the edge of the nearby bushes in the direction of the old men's camp and cries out the totemic name of the country where Yurlunggur swallowed the two Creator Sisters and their babies. This country belongs to the Liaalaomir clan and the names are those of its sacred water hole as well as those of the country (see page 46 for the names of the country).

Finally Yurlunggur's tongue is called. All the younger men, who have not been initiated into the higher parts of the men's association by seeing the totem of the rock python, lay their heads on the ground and the older men cover them with women's pandanus mats (ainmaras). The uncircumcised boys who are to be initiated in this ceremony have usually gone to sleep long before this time. They are awakened and their heads covered in the same way.

The older men continue sitting with their heads up in an attitude of expectation. Four or five men have left the group and have quietly slipped into the bush. The men are still singing the totemic names of the python. As if from some far-off subterranean stone chamber one hears a kind of bellowing roar. It is a weird sound. To those who have been reared on stories of mediaeval knights and their dragons the sound is like that which one imagines a wounded dragon would make. The roar continues for some moments, which the initiates say appears to be a long time.

852 534 The Yurlunggur trumpet (totemic emblem) appears. It is carried by the three or four men who shortly before disappeared, while another blows it. When it is within a few feet of the circle its carriers stand still while the trumpeter continues blowing. Yurlunggur's "head" is pointed toward the circle of men and the neophytes. It is blown over them. It is then turned around, and with the man still blowing it, is carried back to the old men's camp, which is the totem house. The carriers and trumpeter sneak back to the circle and all the initiates are told to uncover their heads.

773 852 *Native Interpretation.*—"These two sisters sang Yurlunggur and menstrual blood. They sang blood because that is what brought the snake when Yurlunggur came. This is the same when the men bring Yurlunggur in at night to the circle. The iguanas bring him in. Yurlunggur crawled right into the camp with the women and their

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out the fire on the dance ground with their feet. The hawks call out their totemic names and the rock kangaroos shout their taboo names. The kangaroos are Dua and the hawks Yiritja. Usually the men who dance the Dua animal belong to the Dua, and the men who dance the Yiritja bird, to the Yiritja moiety.

Early in the morning, before the heat of the day, ceremonies are also held. The uncircumcised initiates are again placed before the head of the dance ground with one or more old men to explain the meaning of the various dances and songs. The first set of dancers are Dua honeybees. They come in one at a time in a zigzag line from the bush and enter the dance ground at the tail of the snake. They kneel before the boys and lie down with the arms stretched above the head and the legs at full length. The last two dancers dance around the others. They all lie down on their backs in one or more lines. Each man places his head between the legs of the man above him and stretches his arms above him at an angle so that they cross the legs and form a diamond pattern, which is supposed to symbolize the honeybee and is one of the few dominant designs found in the totemic paintings of the Murngin.

They squirm forward and backward to represent bees in a hive, while they cried out, "Wah! Wah!! Wah!!" They leave the head of the dance ground and return to the bush. The faces of the little boys remain inexpressive, like masks, throughout the dance.

Yiritja kangaroos are then danced. The Dua wallabys are in a line directly back of the tail of the snake, and to the rear of them are the Yiritja kangaroos. The two lines of dancers pretend to fight with their forepaws as these marsupials box. The leader beats his singing sticks together and leads the ceremony while standing back of the dancers. He sings wallaby and kangaroo.

Farther back in the bushes a man, painted with a "string harness" worn by present-day women but representing here that of the two old Creator Sisters, stands with a spear articulated to his spear-thrower. He sneaks up toward the animals as the two lines form again after their sham fight. The two lines merge. The "hunter" throws his spear and "kills" the leader. He limps off and, followed by the wallabys and kangaroos, falls down at the head of the snake.

Native Interpretation.—The triangular dance ground in the Djunguan has the same interpretation as both the excavated and the surface dance grounds of the Ulmark ceremony. A dance ground is a snake's

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some of the older men with the totemic design of their clan, the leader and the older men meanwhile singing the totemic names of the clans, animals, and sacred clan wells over the youths. They can now eat anything they desire. The taboo of silence (see Section F, 3) is also removed at this time. The leader of this ceremony, who, as has been said before, is usually the head of the Liaalaomir clan, is always given presents by the newly initiated boys. These presents consist of all varieties of food, weapons and other elements of the material culture. The whole family of the boy, both men and women, help him. Only the old men can participate in the consumption of food that is given in payment.

4. The ceremonial trumpet (Yurlunggur) is put back in the totemic well of the clan whose leader has been giving the ceremony. It is buried at night in the mud so that the women will not see it when they are at the well. If it is in good condition at the time the next ceremony is held, it will be used for this occasion; if not, it is reburied and a new trumpet made.

Native Interpretation.—The reference in the native interpretation in Section E which says a man cannot eat anything when he has blood on him because he is unclean, indirectly explains the superficial reasons for placing the taboo on the older boys.

A general summary of the interpretation of each ritual section will be given in Chapter XI.

THE GUNABIBI CEREMONY

A. Preliminaries

1. Mandelprindi, the bull roarer, is made.
2. The young men are chosen for initiation by the leader.

1. The season chosen for the Gunabibi is always the dry period as soon as the food is plentiful, after the luxuriant spear grass has been burned and travel becomes easier. This ceremony lasts from two months to two years. At the discretion of the leaders it may be shortened or indefinitely prolonged. The information that a large group of people is coming from a long distance to participate at the Gunabibi often causes the leader to continue the preliminary stages a month or more while waiting for the visitors.

When the ceremonial leaders of the Liaalaomir clan have decided that it is time to start the Gunabibi ritual, it is usually the younger brother of the Liaalaomir leader who goes out into the men's ground

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and makes a bull roarer (mandelprindi). The bull roarer is attached to a human hair cord on a small stick before it is ready for whirling. It is covered with human blood or red ocher and a snake design is painted on it. The Gunabibi song sequence is usually sung over it[10] to make it "strong," and often the painting is outlined with birds' down. The feathers are removed when it is whirled because they prevent the friction of wood and air which makes the characteristic booming sound. The mandelprindi is then wrapped in bark and hidden in a hollow tree or elsewhere within the men's ceremonial grounds.

2. The old men of the Liaalaomir clan and the leaders of the nearby local groups confer and decide which boys are to be initiated into the Gunabibi mysteries. Since all young men are in time inducted into the Gunabibi ritual, the only question to be decided is whether the boy is old enough. The leaders of the other clans must give their consent if they are present at the conference for the boy's initiation.

Native Interpretation.—There is little to comment upon in this first section of the Gunabibi except that all the natives say that the bull roarer is the snake itself and the initiates "are just the same as those in the Djungguan."

B. The First Ceremony in the Woman's Camp

1. The different clan garma songs are sung and the groups form into one.
2. Mandelprindi is whirled and the camp women and men answer its sound.
3. The initiates are taken by the two Yiritja snakes to the totemic grounds.

1. That evening, or a few evenings later, according to the whim of the leaders, the actual Gunabibi ceremony starts. The leader sends word throughout the camp where a large number of people from the nearby friendly clans are collected, and all the men, women and children gather in the main part of the camp. Each clan group sings the garma song (general camp's less sacred totemic song), that is recognized by all as belonging to that particular clan. The Djirin clan sings and dances Djirin garma songs, and the Warumeri sing and dance their garma songs.

When this is completed the members of the various clans (men, women and children) at the order of the leader all form one large

[10] See pages 294-295.

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852 group and sing the rapid Gunabibi rhythm that is used for the gen-
533 eral "outside" camp.

2. Out in the nearby bush a Dua man whirls the mandelprindi.
[534] The sound is much like that of a bass viol: "Ah um um um um, ah um um um um."

The man whirling the bull roarer cannot be seen. The women and uninitiated are told that Muit, the great father, is calling out for the initiates (in the Djungguan they are told he is calling for the foreskin).

The bull roarer is whirled around the man's head from left to right as he slowly turns with it. He then stops and whirls it from right to left. This is continued for as long a period as the man has strength and feels inclined.

At each pause in the sound of the bull roarer caused by the change in the direction of the whirling, the leader of the camp calls out in a high, shrill, falsetto voice:

"Ah! Yai! ah! Yai! ah! Yai!"

This is in a very quick tempo. The moment he stops, the women answer in high soprano voices:

"Le le le le le le le."

This creates a pattern of musical sound: mandelprindi (bass viol tone and rhythm), male leader's voice, and female chorus.

Sometimes the leader and the bull roarer cry out at the same time. Sometimes two Yiritja water snakes answer instead of the leader. This continues for a quarter of an hour, and sometimes much longer. By this time the women may be in their camps, still chorusing, and the group of men sitting down while smoking and talking.

852 3. The two Yiritja moiety men who are looked upon as Yiritja water snakes and who have been designated as messengers leave the main camp and go out into the men's ceremonial grounds, where they are supposed to stay until the end of the ceremony, except when they appear
[542] for ceremonial purposes at the main camp. Both wear white forehead bands, as do most of the men in the Gunabibi. With them go the boys who are to be initiated. The Yiritja messengers act as guards for the initiates, and also serve as instructors. The boys are not supposed to return to the main camp where the women are until the Gunabibi ceremony is over. They often do come back to the camp if the ceremony lasts longer than a few months, or if there is fear of night attack; but theoretically they must remain away from the women's

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A large group of men, covered with white clay blown on them from the mouths of their fellow dancers, dance around the kartdjur and then go back to the end of the connecting trench and dance down to the kartdjur again. They are opossum dancers and grunt in time to the beating together of the two leaders' boomerangs. As they dance, the opossums and leaders start filling up the kartdjur with the loose earth around it.

The opossums are followed by two dancers who represent the Wawilak sisters. They have paper-bark bundles under their arms to represent their babies. At the end of each song of the chorus the dancers cry in a high whine in imitation of a newly born child. They squat inside the trough and cry again. The crying, in contrast with the heavy voices of the men's chorus, again has a note of absurdity in it and is a source of much laughter.

The last dance is the blue-tongued lizard. He is painted across his back with a white horizontal stripe. Keeping his legs very stiff, he wriggles along on his abdomen, with a wave-like motion, to the kartdjur. When he stops inside it the leader intones, "Gunabibil Gunabibil" over him. The hole is further filled until the greater part of it is covered.

4. The singing now changes to the song, yermerlindi. A fire is made. The Dua leader cries to the neophytes, "Look! See what you can see! I think Bapa Indi is coming out of the water."

The two Muit emblems are brought in; two men hold them upright with the rock pythons painted in blood on the white surfaces gleaming in the light of the many fires before the eyes of the frightened initiates.

The neophytes are told by the old men that the emblems are real pythons, that the spirit of Muit is inside them, and that they are very dangerous, even though they have been made by men, for Muit now walks around the jungle like a man. They are also warned to tell nothing of what they have seen to the women and uninitiated boys.

5. Two men bring in a pole and hold it horizontally about waist-high from the ground, on the concave side of the kartdjur. The yermerlindi are stood on the convex side. They are pushed over and allowed to hit the pole, while all the chorus cries out in shrill tones. They are picked up and again allowed to fall. This continues until the feather headpieces on the top of the emblems fall off.

The yermerlindi are put in the kartdjur. The grass around them is burned and the inner poles are charred. While this is being done,

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others gather around him. His step is almost a complete reproduction of a modern "buck and wing" jig step. When he has finished he takes his spear-thrower and designates the next dancer by tapping one of the chorus on the shoulder with it. This individual also does a solo dance and then taps another. This continues until all the individuals in the group have danced at least once. 884 535

Native Interpretation.—The leader of the Ulmark ceremony told me, "The logs are the backbone of Muit." The men who sit on it are two kaitjimbal (large kangaroos who are Yiritja) and two pardi-pardi (stone kangaroos who are Dua). "They dance because those two old women named them in their dance. The two old women tried to catch these kangaroos but they ran away." The two Yiritja kangaroos are called gur-warn or messengers: "They are all the same as the kakawar [Yiritja snakes] in the Gunabibi." 884 535 713

The women represent the Wawilak women throughout the whole dance. "The women get up and dance around like those two [Wawilak] women did before when the rain fell down. The women carry yam sticks like those two women did. They are trying to stop the rain and to stop Muit from coming out." The words "Kait-bal kait-bal" were supposedly used by the two Creator Sisters in the Lianlaomir clan country.

The men take off their ornaments and "clothing" and cut their hair "so that they will go very poor and skinny and look like a man gets when there is a long wet and little food. They are all the same as waiting for the dry season to come." These acts symbolize the effect of ceremonial uncleanliness on nature and man.

Concerning the solo dance, I was told: "They dance this way because those two women did that and when one sister finished dancing, she hit the other sister with a spear-thrower and this one started dancing."

B. The Ceremonial Drum, Uvar (the Great Python) Is Made 884 534

1. A large hollow log is formed into a drum and beaten with a pandanus stump.

1. During the progress of Section A several men, including the leader or his younger brother, go into the surrounding bush and select a hollow tree, cut it down, clean it out, and remove the outer bark. The log is recut to a four- or five-foot length and carried to a small bush house that has been made for it on the men's ground. Here it is painted with snake figures, emus, and other animals, as well as plants. [531]

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884 534 A small pandanus palm stump is trimmed to a convenient size for a beating stick. As soon as the totemic drum is made, it is carried under a man's arm and struck with the pandanus palm stick. The women reply from the main camp with "Kait-ba! kait-ba!" This is symbolic of the beginning of an Ulmark, as the sounding of the bull roarer is of the Gunabibi.

884 713 *Native Interpretation.*—The sound of the drums is the voice of Muit, and "the women answer the same way as for Mandelprindi [in the Gunabibi] only they say 'Kait-ba! kait-ba!' [instead of making high trilling sounds]."—"The women calling out 'Kait-ba! kait-ba!' is what they said in trying to dance and keep Muit back."

C. The Kangaroo Messengers

884 1. They visit other groups to invite them. They have two kangaroo tail emblems with them.

2. The triangular dance ground is made; the behavior of the visitors who arrive.

884 202 1. For several weeks the men continue dancing the "buck and wing" jig step while the women gather palm nuts and put them in water to soak out the poison. Meanwhile a few of the men make two small emblems. One is supposed to be the tail of the large gray kangaroo, the other the tail of the stone kangaroo.

The kangaroos are then sent away to the surrounding clans to invite them to the ceremony. When they approach a camp they cut a large club-like stick and beat it against a hollow tree. The camp people hear it and realize that Ulmark messengers have arrived to invite them to its ritual. A man from the camp goes out to meet the messengers, who say, "We have two kangaroo tails here, one Dua, one Yiritja. We have all the food ready. You must come."

884 2. While the messengers are away the men in the camp make a triangular dance ground which is the same in structure, material, and form as the Djungguan dance ground. When the visitors—men, women and children—approach the camp of the clan that is giving the ceremony they paint themselves with red ocher. They sing the Kait-ba, kait-ba refrain until they arrive in the main camp. Visitors who arrive early and who have been initiated into the Ulmark are conducted by the old local men to the men's dance ground, where they start dancing the characteristic jig step of the Ulmark.

884 533 All neophytes are supposed to remain on the ceremonial grounds

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884 5. Snail shell rattles are manufactured.
6. A bark house is constructed and is painted with ceremonial designs.

1. While the group of headdress dances of Section F dances is being performed, two emblems are under construction. They are large representations of the Dua kangaroo and Yiritja kangaroo tails. The smaller [211] emblems previously mentioned function as message sticks for the kangaroos who announce the ceremony to the other tribes; these larger ones are used as emblems in the ceremony. They are brought out by the dancers who jump over each other. Yiritja jump over the Dua and Dua over the Yiritja in the same manner as our children play leap frog.

2. If the ceremony is to last two years the snake dance ground is not excavated, since it forms a part of what is considered the final portion of the Ulmark. If it is decided to complete the ceremony in one season, the Yiritja and Dua kangaroo messengers dig the dance place to a depth of a man's shoulder. It is in the center of the dance ground and well protected by heavy clumps of jungle growth. It has the same triangular shape as the snake ground in Section D and the one found in the Djungguan ceremony (which is not dug but is on the surface of the ground); but in addition it has a pathway dug to one side of the triangle. It is the python snake's body. It is supposed to face the southeast both in this ceremony and in the Djungguan. Bushes are piled in it at the head of the ground.

3. The women's dance ground is only a cleared space in the center of the general camp.

4. While the men are digging the triangular snake ground, the women, of both home and visiting clans, clear a small path which encircles the whole of the men's ceremonial grounds. (It winds and twists like the track left by a huge python.)

5. After the excavating has ceased, the men gather dry snail shells. [237 These are painted with red ocher on which is dotted white clay. A half 534] dozen of these shells are strung on one string and tied to a spear-thrower. Several of these snail-shell rattles are made.

6. A bark house is also built on the ceremonial grounds. The house [342 is the same in structure as those used in the rainy season. The interior 531] walls are painted with realistic and geometric figures (which illustrate the story of the two Wawilak sisters).

884 *Native Interpretation.*—The triangular and the women's dance
773 ground are identical with the Djungguan dance places and are looked

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upon as the same by the natives. "Those bushes are put around a hole just the same as in the Djungguan. The two camps [dance grounds] are just the same as in the Djungguan."—"The tail [of the triangular dance ground] goes out by the women's camp. This means he has already swallowed those two women." (In the Djungguan the triangular ground also represents the snake after he has swallowed the two women. See page 273.) "The bushes are the two women who have been spewed out by the snake. They are [also] an ant bed on the ground where that snake first fell down at Mirrirmina."

When the women dance in their camp dance ground they are those two Wawilak sisters. The winding path which is made around the men's ground, and which of course surrounds the triangular dance ground as well as the bark house, is supposed to be the track of Muit when he was surrounding the two women; and the triangular dance ground always faces southeast because "that rock place at Mirrirmina looks that way."

When the snail-shell rattles appear it means that "the two women made this at Mirrirmina, and it was to show they were tired and near the finish of the dance." The snail-shell rattle is symbolical of marl-pin-pin (snail) itself. Its "inside meaning" is the garna, an ordinary wooden spear used by the women to stick in holes when looking for snails.

The bark house is that made by the two women when they tried to avoid the rain and being swallowed by the snake. There is supposedly a depression in the rocks and ground at Mirrirmina where the women had their house in which they put all their ritual properties during the rain. The two women left in it their hair belts and opossum string, and all the tools, weapons, and implements used by modern Murngin men. They were left for and found by the Wawilak men.

H. The Snail-shell Rattle Dance

1. The men dance with the snail-shell rattles on the boundary of the men's and women's grounds. The women give them gifts of "clothing."

1. The spear-throwers with the snail-shell rattles attached are brought out toward the main camp by the men. All of the male members enter the camp except the messengers, who remain in the ceremonial grounds. As they approach, the men sing and dance Flood Water. They meet the women who have marched out from their own camp and stopped on the ground intermediate to the camps. The women have gathered from

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grinding stone. The latter is a flat stone about five inches by one-half to one inch. Both are painted.

Bull Roarers.—Bull roarers are always made by older men. A flat slip of wood is first hacked out of a piece of eucalyptus into a rectangular shape. It is then whittled down into a thin sword-shaped instrument and given a smooth surface. If the bull roarer is not sufficiently straight to suit the maker, he heats it over a small fire, puts it into the fork of a tree and straightens it by applying pressure.

For decorating the bull roarer the wood is first given a covering of the juice from a macerated orchid bulb. Red ocher is then rubbed over the entire surface and a white clay snake design traced down each side. Often human blood is smeared over the snake design as an adhesive for white bush cotton or feathers. Sometimes the entire surface of the bull roarer is covered with feathers or cotton and the snake design traced with blood down each side of the instrument. A long rope of human hair is attached for the purpose of whirling the bull roarer about the user's head.

There are two types of bull roarers.

Type I. Mandel-prindi.—This is a flat, leaf-shaped instrument, slightly convex on both sides, with a hole in the narrower end for the insertion of two strands of hair string. The hair string is eight to ten feet long and is tied at the other end to a cylindrical handle twenty-six inches in length and two inches in diameter. The whole of the blade of the bull roarer is covered with red ocher or human blood, and painted. It also has birds' down on it.

The mandelprindi is whirled by the natives during the Gunabibi ceremony and is supposed to be the thunder which is the voice of the Great Snake totem.

Measurements:

Length: three-foot norm; variation six inches.

Width: three inches, widest part; one inch, narrowest part.

Type II. Paddle or Bird Type of Bull Roarer.—This form has the same shape as a paddle with a rounded end. It is slightly larger than the other bull roarer. It is looked upon as entirely different from mandelprindi, and its sound is supposed to be the voice of a bird. A hole is bored in the cylindrical handle to receive the end of the hair string.

Banitja.—These sacred sound-producing objects are long graduated strips of paper bark wrapped with pandanus fiber and covered with red ocher. They are used to beat the ground to warn and frighten women away from the ceremonial ground. They measure three feet by four inches by two inches.

Yermerlindi.—Two saplings are cut down and tied together. They are padded with grass and tied with fiber string. The front half of the surface thus produced is covered with paper bark and rewrapped with thick fiber string. The surface of the paper bark is covered with human blood and

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white birds' down is stuck on it. A red snake is painted with human blood from the bottom to the top of the emblem. On the top of the Yermerlindi is put a native companion feather headdress to symboliże the snake's head. The whole of the object is supposed to be the great totem snake. It is used only in the Gunabibi ceremony.

The Yermerlindi measures sixteen feet by one foot by seven and one-half inches.

Hollow Cylindrical Objects.—All such objects are made from trees whose centers have been eaten out by termites until only a hollow shell remains. The size of the tree used depends on the purposes for which the object is required.

The native walks through a eucalyptus grove thumping trees until he finds one whose sound indicates that it is hollow. The tree is ringed a few feet from the ground. When the tree falls the trunk is cut the proper length. A pole is then cut and used as a ramrod to clean the termite nest out of the interior.

The outer and inner bark are next cleaned off with an axe and any remaining pieces of bark scraped from the surface with the axe edge.

These hollow cylinders divide into three types: (1) ir-a-ki (wooden trumpet); (2) u-var (ceremonial drum); and (3) dai-mer-i ("coffin").

Iraki: There are three varieties of this object. The first is the ordinary long trumpet, which is about four feet long with a diameter of two and one-half inches. The smaller end of the log is made into a mouthpiece by whittling slightly.

A second type is much larger (six to eight feet long; six inches in diameter). It is used exclusively as a ceremonial object in the Djungguan ceremony. It represents Bapa Indi (father great), the Great Snake. Beeswax is put at the small end to form a mouthpiece.

The third type, which is seldom seen, is about two feet long and two and one-half inches in diameter. A hole is bored through the wall into the inner tube. The blower, instead of putting his lips at one end of the trumpet, places his mouth over the hole and blows. The sound is low and unformed.

Uvar: This drum is only a hollow log with no modification except painting. It ranges from four to six feet in length and is from seven to eight inches in diameter. It is beaten with a drum stick of pandanus leaves wrapped with the same material. The uvar is carried under the arm of a dancer in the Ulmark ceremony and is used at no other time. The sound made by the beating is the voice of the snake.

Daimeri: This coffin may be either a simple hollow cylinder or it may have two barbed prongs at the top. The length varies from six to fifteen feet, and the prongs from one and one-half to two feet. The diameter is about nine inches. Two holes directly opposite each other represent eyes of a mythical creature.

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climb to the top of the platform and, taking the corpse from those below, lay it on the bed of leaves,[15] face upwards.

As the two men descend, others blow a wooden trumpet informing the *Mokoi*[16] of the death, knowing that they will take the spirit from the locality for a time so that it will not be a danger to its living relatives. At the same time another man climbs a tall tree and makes a noise like the night-bird, *kunuruk* (associated with the *Mokoi*).[17] As soon as the aboriginal in the tree hears the *Mokoi* coming (they make a coughing sound) he descends quickly and with the rest of the mourners runs quickly from the burial ground. This is done, not only to make the dead man's spirit go with the *Mokoi*, but because the *Mokoi*, particularly that of the newly dead man, are dangerous to the living.

(ii) *The Cleansing of the Bones*

For the next two or three months no one goes to the burial platform. When, however, putrefaction is complete, the maggots from the body have entered the ground and turned into blowflies, the aborigines meet to perform the second phase in the burial rituals, the cleansing of the bones.[18]

Totemic dances belonging to the clan of the dead man are performed to the accompaniment of much singing, the beating of music sticks and the blowing of the wooden trumpet. The noise of these rituals is supposed to scare the spirit of the dead man and his ghostly attendants, the *Mokoi*, from the burial platform. The body is lifted from the platform or, if an earth burial, exhumed and a curious ritual performed over it, in which two men sit, one on either side of the corpse, whilst a third thrusts a spear into it, saying that he has speared a turtle.[19] The women, who have been sitting at one side, then come forward, take the skeleton apart, wash the bones in water and wrap them in paper-bark to remove the smell. At the end of three days the women unwrap the bones, rub them with red ochre and place them in a temporary bark coffin, on the outside of which the men have painted the totemic symbols of the deceased.[20]

15. If when a man dies there are only a few people present, the corpse is wrapped in paper bark and buried in the ground.

16. The *Mokoi (djittja)* and *Wuna (dua)* are spirits living in the jungle, who are always seeking souls of the newly-dead for company. A dead person has two spirits, one, *wukkun*, which usually goes to 'a distant "heaven" (p. 326) and one which stays on earth. The latter are the *Mokoi*. (See Warner (1937), p. 116; also p. 338.) There are, however, many kinds of *Mokoi*, and our information about them is very limited.

17. See ceremonial staff of *kunuruk*, Pl. 134F.

18. See description of bark coffins, p. 317.

19. The significance of this ritual is obscure. Warner (1937), p. 113, refers to it. A similar ritual is supposed to be carried out at Purriko, the final resting place of the *dua* dead, p. 325.

20. Hazes (1936), p. 5, mentions that, 'In Miod, a small island to the north-west of New Guinea, . . . the body, wrapped in clothes, is deposited on a scaffold built for it in the forest. From time to time the relations come to inspect the corpse until decomposition is complete. The skeleton is then brought to the place, generally a cave, where the bones of all the dead inhabitants of the village are collected.' This is a similar burial custom to that carried out by the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land and might well be the source from which the Arnhem Land custom originated.

31 Mountford E-8 (1948) 1956 Ol17 Muragin Ol17

The skull,[21] which also has been painted with its totemic design, is placed in a string carrying-bag. Both the skull and the bark coffin containing the bones are carried from one camp to another by a near female relative of the dead man and suitably mourned over, so that the dead spirit will be happy. At night the bark coffin is placed on a pair of forked sticks, and the skull, in its carrying-bag, hung on a nearby tree.

(iii) *The Final Burial*

At the end of some months, after the old men have decided that the time is ripe for the final disposal of the bones, the brothers of the dead man cut down a hollow tree to make a log coffin and, after taking off the bark, paint on it the totemic design of the dead man.[22]

While the bones are being transferred from the bark to the log coffin the men perform the water dance. A tribal sister then digs a hole in the ground, the log coffin is placed in the hole in an upright position,[23] the earth packed tightly round the base, and the burial rituals are over. Sometimes the small bones of the hands and feet are given to near relatives as mementoes. The skull, being too large to go in the log coffin, is usually broken up and thrown away.

Four bark paintings illustrate the burial rituals: Pl. 100A, the ceremonies at death; Pl. 99D, the cleansing of the bones and the placing in the bark coffin; Pl. 100B, the transference of the bones to the log coffin; and Pl. 101D, a complete sequence of burial.

On Pl. 100A, panel *a*, a newly deceased man is surrounded by mourning women. On panel *b*, the dead man is in his grave (this is an earth burial). On the lower edge of the painting three men are beating their music sticks together and singing, accompanied by a fourth, blowing his drone tube.[24] Above the grave are four dancing women and, on panel *c*, another line of women singing and dancing. The remainder of the painting deals with the journey of the spirit to Nalkuna, the *jiritja* heaven. This will be described later, p. 329.

Plate 99D pictures a ceremony associated with the second phase of the burial ceremonies of a *dua* man, the cleansing of the bones.

In the centre of the painting is the desiccated body resting on the burial platform (short lines on either side). At *a* his mother, *b* his sister, *c* his wife, are stabbing themselves in the scalp with a bone specially sharpened for the occasion. The blood flowing from each woman is indicated by the adjacent cross-hatching. At *d* and *f*, two *dua* men are beating their music sticks and chanting the burial songs, and at *e* a *jiritja* man is blowing the drone tube.

21. See painted skull, Pl. 101C, *f*.

22. This design is the same as that painted on the body of the dead man throughout his life.

23. See Milingimbi log coffin, Pl. 105A. Those used at Yirrkalla were longer, simpler and without projecting spikes on top.

24. This is a hollow stick, or sometimes a length of bamboo, about two inches in diameter and up to five feet in length, which is blown like a trumpet. Some investigators call them by the European name of didjeridoo.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 Ol17 Murngin Ol17

CARVED AND PAINTED FIGURES

The Wawalik Sisters

In the fragment of the *wawalik* ceremonies[75] which we witnessed at Yirrkalla the aborigines used two ceremonial poles. One, Pl. 138B, represents the elder sister whose blood, after she had given birth to a child, offended the serpent, *jurlungur*, which lived in the well, Mirrirmina; the other, Pl. 138A, represents the younger sister.[76]

The Ceremonial Poles. Plate 138B is the complete design on the sacred pole belonging to the elder *Wawalik* sister. The strip of frayed bark on top is her hair and the curving designs, the blood caused by the birth of her child.

Plate 138A belongs to the younger *Wawalik* sister. The lower triangular designs picture the water in the sacred well of *jurlungur*, the serpent. The parallel vertical lines in the upper portion indicate the water flowing into the well.

2. CEREMONIAL OBJECTS FROM NORTH-EASTERN ARNHEM LAND

The Fresh-water Tortoise, Mimala

This bull-roarer, shaped like a paddle, belongs to Diawirinja, west of Arnhem Bay, the totem place of the fresh-water tortoise, *Mimala*. The bull-roarer is so sacred that even its sound must not be heard by the women.

During a burial ceremony at Diawirinja in creation time the fresh-water tortoise, *Mimala*, then a man, made four bull-roarers, similar to the one illustrated, and buried them in those parts of the ceremonial ground over which everyone would dance. Though the women were assisting in the burial rituals, they, of course, were unaware of the sacred objects under their feet. At the conclusion of the rituals *Mimala* hunted the women away, dug the bull-roarers out of the sand and threw them into a nearby waterhole, where they have since been transformed into four large trees. Similar bull-roarers, after they have been used in the present-day *mimala* ceremonies of Diawirinja, are thrown into a sacred waterhole forbidden to the women. Being made of hard, durable wood, it is only necessary, the following year, to take the bull-roarers from the water and re-decorate them.[77]

Plate 144A, B is the obverse and reverse sides of the bull-roarer. The tortoise is shown in panel *a* on B, surrounded by dots indicating the bamboos growing in his totemic swamp. In panel *c* is *Mimala* again, accompanied by an unidentified diving bird with which he is linked in the myth.

Panel *b* on B, and *d*, *e* and *f* on A all picture hives of wild honey, the dots being the bees and the cross-hatched diamonds the honey. The transverse bars, *x*, *x*, *x*, on A and B symbolize the sacred waterhole into which the bull-roarers are thrown at the completion of the *mimala* ceremonies.

75. For more complete myth, see p. 275. 76. Bark painting, Pl. 88A.
77. These and similar sacred objects last for several years under water. If buried in the ground, they would soon be destroyed by termites.

CARVED AND PAINTED FIGURES

(1) YIRRKALLA

The Green Turtle, Gariwa

In creation times, when the *dua* green turtle, *gariwa*, and the *jiritja* hawksbill turtle, *kouweradji*, were men, they lived together on the beach at Yirrkalla. One day, when the two men were discussing some trivial matter, the hawksbill man lost his temper and speared the green-turtle man. The wounded man was so enraged over this unjustified attack that he changed himself into the green turtle. His totemic place is now at the bottom of the sea, between Yirrkalla and Bremer Island.[1]

532* 773* [823 778]

Plate 141A, B, E is two carved figures, in the round, of the present-day green turtle, *gariwa*. The designs on the back represent the shell pattern of the carapace.

The Serpent, W'ununga

This staff, from Milingimbi, represents *wununga*, the mythical serpent, whose voice is the sound of the log gong, *mur*.[2] This serpent, also called *muit*,[3] lives in a large waterhole at Milingimbi. The staff is used in the *narra* rituals.

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The main design on Pl. 134A is the mythical serpent, *wununga*; the smaller designs are young snakes, the progeny of *wununga*. No explanation was obtained for the chevron designs on the upper part of the staff. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.

The Night-bird, Karuwak, and the Opossum, Marungo

The night-bird, *karuwak*, is associated in some undetermined way with the *Mokoi* of the dead.[4] In another mythological story[5] *karuwak* (probably one of the owls) was friends with the opossum, *marungo*.

[776]

The Ceremonial Staff. This staff, Pl. 134E, is used in the totemic ceremonies of the night-bird, *karuwak*. It represents a totemic tree near Cape Shields, on which *karuwak* sat to talk to the opossum. The carved figure on the top is the night-bird. The same design is repeated lower down. The wavy lines have the same meaning as those on the bark painting of *marungo* and *karuwak*,[6] i.e. the marks made by the opossum as it wandered round the base of the totemic tree where *karuwak* was perched.

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The Shark, Mana, at Blue Mud Bay

For myth, see p. 372.

The Carved Figure. On Pl. 132A the series of rectangles means the same as those on the bark painting of the shark, *mana*,[7] i.e. dead palm leaves floating

1. See painted echo of turtle-man, *Gariwa*, Pl. 102B., D.
2. See log gong, Pl. 147A, C; also Warner (1937), p. 314.
3. The serpent *muit* which, in the myth of the *gunabibi* ceremony at Milingimbi, swallowed the *W'awalik* sister, although considered by some to be more powerful than *yulungur*, is really the same mythical creature (see Warner, 1937, p. 372).
4. Myth, p. 312.
5. Bark paintings, Pl. 115E; also engraved ceremonial message sticks, Fig. 65A, B.
6. Myth, p. 302.
7. This is the symbolism employed on the bark painting of *mana*, Pl. 119B.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 0117 Murngin 0117

The body of the murdered turtle man, *Madapang*, is now a large rock on the mainland opposite Bremer Island.

Plate 144G, H shows the obverse and reverse sides of the paddle.

The upper panel on the reverse side, G, is occupied by the *dua* green turtle, *garirwa*, and the lower by a similar but larger turtle, *madapang*. The latter is the turtle who, when a man, was killed by the *Mokoi* at Melville Bay. The short transverse panels of cross-hatching near the head and tail of the turtle, *madapang*, indicate seaweed, the food of the creature, and the long panels on either side, the sea.

In the upper panel of the obverse side, H, are five dolphins, called *injipana*, and in the lower, five dolphins of a different species, called *bulanbir*. The cross-hatched panels indicate smooth sea water at the totemic place.

The panels at the head of the upper turtle indicate where the reptile dug in the sand to lay its eggs; the long panels on either side represent sea-water. The rounded end of the paddle indicates that it belongs to a man of the *dua* moiety.[20]

(2) Painted Paddles and Spear-throwers from Groote Eylandt

On Pl. 145 are four paddles from Groote Eylandt, A, B, C, D and E.

No interpretations were gathered of the various designs painted on the paddles. In the upper panel of Pl. 145A is the figure of a man associated with what appears to be a wind symbol,[21] on Pl. 145D a dugong and a turtle, and on Pl. 145E another dugong. Collected by F. D. McCarthy.

On Pl. 146 are four spear-throwers from Groote Eylandt, A, B and C, D and E, and F. Although, as with the paddles, no interpretations were gathered, it is possible to distinguish a dolphin on D, and a turtle and possibly a bandicoot on E. Collected by F. M. Setzler.

(3) The Log Gongs

Two log gongs were collected in Arnhem Land, one (Pl. 147A, C) called *mwar*, by F. M. Setzler and F. D. McCarthy, whilst engaged on archaeological research at Milingimbi, and one (Pl. 147D) called *ubara*, by myself, at Oenpelli.

Warner, when carrying out research among the aborigines of Milingimbi during 1927-8, saw the log gong in use and gives a full description of its function.[22] According to him, the gong, which is beaten with a frayed section of pandanus root, is used only in the *ulmark* cycle of ceremonies. When the women hear the sound of the gong, which they believe is the voice of the serpent *muit*,[23] they assemble in the camp and continuously repeat the call, *kait-ba*. This call protects the women from harm, it being the same as that used by the

20. For shape of a *jirrija* paddle, Fig. 58A, B.
21. Bark painting of south-east wind, Pl. 240.
22. Warner (1937), pp. 315-16.
23. Another name for *julungur*, the mythical serpent, who swallowed the *Wawalik* sisters (see myth, p. 278, and Warner (1937), p. 372).

[text continues on p. 456]

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

W'auwalik sisters in their attempt to drive the serpent, *jurlungur*, or *muit*, back into the Mirrirmina waterhole (myth, p. 279).

THE MILINGIMBI LOG GONG

This incomplete myth, associated with the Milingimbi gong, *uwar* (Pl. 147A, C), and the designs painted on it, deals with a man, *Julpaipai*, his wife, *Gutjabaui*, and their daughter.

During creation times, *Julpaipai* and his wife travelled from Nilipidji (the famous aboriginal flint quarry, the source of the best flint knives) to the country belonging to the Liagolomnira (Warner's Liaalaomir) clan on the Goyder River, where they created a sacred waterhole, Miaramina (Warner's Mirrirmina). Whilst camped beside this waterhole *Gutjabaui* gave birth to a daughter. Later *Julpaipai* sent his wife to Miaramina to collect food, and whilst there she was raped by a mythical rock python that lived in the waterhole.[24] As *Julpaipai* was making a fire to cook the food collected by his wife, he saw a dog chase a goanna up a tree used only in the women's ceremonies. Later, the goanna was followed by many spiders and a rat.

The central figure of Pl. 147A, C, is the man, *Julpaipai*, carrying a feather plume in his left hand. The lines radiating from his head indicate his hair. To the left of his head is a boomerang.[25] To the left of *Julpaipai* is his daughter, wearing a feather plume on her head and carrying another in her hand. To the left of her again is a wooden spear, resting on a boomerang. The animal near by is the rat, *marawata*, which the dog chased up the sacred tree, *warguritja*, shown immediately above. On the extreme left of the design is a digging stick belonging to *Julpaipai's* daughter.

Reading from the right of the central figure, the small beetle-like designs are the spiders, *dipala*, which followed the rat and the goanna up the tree. Near the right hand of the mythical man is his spear-thrower and two wooden spears. The figure to the extreme right is the woman, *Gutjabaui*, holding a spear-thrower in one hand a digging stick in the other. The design to the left of her head is a yam she has dug out of the ground.[26] Associated with the log is a ceremonial object, Pl. 147B, perhaps a beater, its painted designs symbolizing green ants, *tapalang*, and their nest. Myth and interpretation by F. M. Setzler and F. D. McCarthy.

THE LOG GONG, UBARA, OENPELLI

The log gong, Pl. 147D, was used in the *ubara* ceremonies[27] witnessed during our stay at Oenpelli. According to my informants, the designs had no specific

24. This myth has many points of resemblance with that of the *W'auwalik* sisters (Warner, 1937, p. 250). Both the clan and the sacred well have similar names, and the woman, *Gutjabaui*, gave birth to a child near the sacred well. Later the woman was raped, instead of being swallowed, by a mythical rock python which lived in the sacred well of Miaramina.

25. Although boomerangs are not made by the men of Arnhem Land, they reach Milingimbi from the south through the medium of a remarkable trade cycle. This trade cycle is described by Thomson (1949).

26. Warner (1937), p. 313, mentions that the log gong is 'painted with snake figures, emus and other animals as well as plants'.

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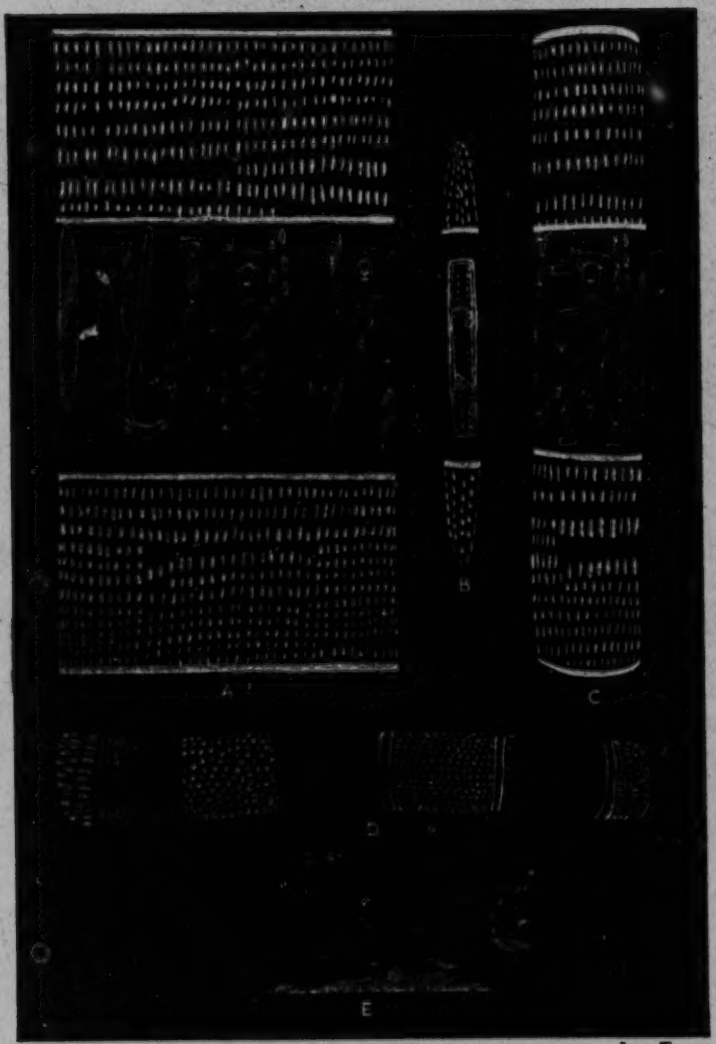

Jean Truran

PLATE 147. Log gonga, Milingimbi and Oenpelli

A, C Log gong, Milingimbi
B Ceremonial object, Milingimbi
D Log gong, Oenpelli
E Method of holding log gong, Oenpelli

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
O117 Murngin O117

The soft bark of the giant tea-tree, commonly called paper-bark, is utilised for such purposes as the bandaging of wounds, the protection of spear points, the covering of huts, the carrying of babies, the parcelling of food, and the making of receptacles in which water is carried. 314

Fire is produced by wooden drills. The end of the drill is placed in a notch cut in a piece of soft-wood, which is held on the ground by the foot, and the drill is then spun between the palms of the hands. I have seen fire produced by this means in as short a time as 35 seconds. 372

Large dug-out canoes are made from the trunks of trees of several species, and in these canoes long voyages are made across the open sea. 501

The only musical instruments used, if they may be so termed, are the "Yiraki," or drone-pipe, and the "Bilma," or clap-sticks. The Yiraki is about four feet in length, and is constructed of a piece of wood about three inches in diameter which has been hollowed by termites. At the smaller end a mouthpiece is formed of beeswax. This instrument supplies a droning accompaniment during the singing of chants. No tune upon it is possible, its range being limited to three notes of the scale, which are produced by a variation of the wind pressure. 534

The Bilma are simply two pieces of hardwood, oval in section, and about one foot in length, which, being struck together, supply the "time" for chants and dances.

Sometimes two boomerangs are held in the one hand, separated by one or more fingers, and by a quick movement of the wrist are made to produce a rhythmic rattling.

In the manufacture of these various weapons and utensils a high degree of constructive skill and neatness of workmanship is evidenced. Practically all these articles are richly ornamented, and probably nowhere in Australia has aboriginal decorative art reached a finer development than in East Arnhem Land. 531

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

fertility: the female Julunggul is big (as if she were pregnant) from having swallowed the Wauwalak. Aborigines say: "There are two Snakes, both Julunggul. One of these smelt the afterbirth blood and swallowed the Wauwalak: this was the female. The other was her husband, who stopped back in the well". According to another version, both take part in the swallowing. 773 114 831

Nevertheless the female Julunggul, entering the hut in which the Sisters were crouching, symbolizes a penis, and her entry into the hut "is like a penis going into a vagina". The whole process of swallowing is interpreted by natives as an act of coitus. "It is coitus which causes female fecundity, expressed indirectly through the presence of the Wauwalak, as a transmutation of the great Fertility Mother, Djanggawul (mother of the Wauwalak)." The swallowing, accompanied by lightning and rain, serves to bring about the wet season (monsoonal period), the period of growth, and the renewal of animal, bird and vegetable life.

Another important point is the spraying of the Wauwalak by the Julunggul, before swallowing, with a "slippery" salival substance. This saliva is called *ngal*, which is also used for semen (also *ju:tu*, a term used generally for a child): the Julunggul sprays out the *ngal*, like an ejaculation of semen (with her head in the women's hut; that is, "penis in vagina"), and then swallows them (that is, coitus). Now, in the *djunggawon* and *kunapipi* rituals, actors are painted with white paint called *ngal* (*buru* or *buluk*), signifying the Julunggul's saliva or semen (*vide* Appendix I).

The erectness of the Julunggul and the other *dua* Pythons is the result of the swallowing (interpreted by informants as an erect penis). It is said that Julunggul and the other Snakes retained their upright positions only "because they had swallowed the Wauwalak and the other meat".

The noise made by Julunggul, after telling the *dua* Snakes she had swallowed the Wauwalak, was (as mentioned) part of the sound of the ritual bullroarer (termed also *julunggul* or *julunggir*, and *mununa*; this latter is the "outside" secular word used for both the bullroarer and the Snake, called "Lightning Snake". It is also one name of the Kunapipi or Kadjari Mother; this aspect will be mentioned again in Chapters IX to XI). The rest of its sound was obtained from the noise made by Julunggul, when she first sent out lightning which split a tree; the wood from which the bullroarer is made symbolizes a piece of wood that sprang out when the lightning hit the tree. The bullroarer is used principally in the Kunapipi ritual, although also at times in the *ngu:rlmak*; its sound is said to be a "very happy one", for Julunggul has just swallowed the Wauwalak. On the other hand, in the *djunggawon* ritual when the *julunggul* "wooden trumpet" is blown, the "light" sound of *brur ! brur !* signifies the Python's swallowing. 773 114 [534]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

773 Some confusion exists as to how the afterbirth blood fell into the
114 sacred well of Muruwul. It is said by some that the older Sister went down to the well to obtain water for drinking, and the blood dropped in while she was bending over. Others declare that the rain washed the blood into the well. The Julunggul, however, first smelt the proximity of the Two Sisters, and then the blood of the older. They had, according to the most reliable version, been camped at a swamp surrounded with "cabbage" or "wild coconut" palms, not far from Muruwul. It was here that much blood fell; when the rain began, the blood was carried down to the sacred well. A number of songs deal with this aspect.

Julunggul, so aborigines say, resembles an immense coloured caterpillar, *dupal*, with similar features and body, but without its numerous
[534] legs; the bullroarer is like this, particularly when it has been decorated with feather down fastened on with blood, and attached to a long cord of human hair twine.

* * * *

Since there are deviations in other Wauwalak versions, it is advisable to append the following two stories on the same subject; but the main theme is the same, and only the differences will be described in detail.

773 The two Wauwalak painted each other with boomerang designs[6] before the birth of the elder sister's child.[7] When it was born, with the help of other unnamed women, the two started off for Muruwul. On arrival there the older sister partially built a bark hut called *murlk* (a sacred name, for this is the term for the hut placed on the ceremonial ground in the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi* and *ngurlmak* rituals). Her afterbirth blood was still intermittently flowing. The younger sister had, in the meantime, hidden herself in the surrounding grass. When the *murlk* was finished she came out, and began to dance along the track leading to the hut and to the well: she skipped along, shaking branches as she danced, just as the women dance to-day in the secular *djunggawon* and *kunapipi*. Coming near the mouth of the hut, she shook the branches, threw them aside, and entered; she sat down in there with her sister, and her sister's daughter. At the same time, she felt her menstruation blood running inside her from her breasts to her navel, down into the uterus, and flowing out. This had been caused by her energetic dancing, the movement of her hips, buttocks and legs. She had danced, too, the dance of the "spring water", the running streams of rain-water during the wet season,

[778] 6. This design refers to the special boomerang used for ritual defloration (sometimes associated with ceremonial intercourse) on the Kunapipi ground; the
[839] Rose River Love Song Cycle treats this subject. *Vide*, also, Chapters IV and V.

7. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Sacred Figures of Ancestral Beings of Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 314-317.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

773 to these aborigines, is not just passive reliance on the Ancestral
796 Beings, an inertia based on the hope that "something is bound to turn up" if they wait long enough. They must do their part to ensure the action of the Ancestral Beings; and their part is the ritual re-enactment of the relevant myth. This releases the "power" (or *dal*) inherent in the Ancestral Beings. This *dal* then finds full expression, and fertility is assured.

Thus the myth is thought to express the intentions of the Ancestral Beings, who possess the power to carry them out; and this power is
[805] released (or brought to bear) by sacred ritual. It arranges the seasons,
[789] maintains an adequate supply of food, and ensures the continuance of the group as a whole.

Before we proceed with the Kunapipi ritual, it is necessary to relate the final part of the Wauwalak myth, explaining the way in which this ritual was obtained and handed down from *wonga:r* times.

The three rituals, of which only one is to be treated here, are grouped together in terms of kinship ties. The *djunggawon*, an age-
[561] grading ceremony, is called *katu*, son, and so is its principal ritual
[534] object, the long *julunggul* wooden "trumpet". The *ngu:rlmak*, mainly religious in character and open only to adult postulants, is termed *ba:pa*, father, and so is its ceremonial hollow log *uwar* "drum". The *kunapipi* is *mari* (mother's mother's brother), like its
[601] main ritual emblem, the *jelmalandji*. Although the relationship term of *mari* signifying the *kunapipi* is one that normally denotes age (that is, in the grandparents' generation), it is less important from the point of view of sacredness than the *ngu:rlmak*, said to be the major ritual of the trilogy. Sometimes, however, the *ngu:rlmak* is spoken of as "the father of the *kunapipi* side", while the *kunapipi* and *djunggawon* are classified together. But in practice it seems that, irrespective of the terminology of *mari*, the Kunapipi is really of secondary importance.

796 All the Wauwalak-Julunggul ceremonies belong to the *dua* clans
616 or linguistic groups, and are under the direction of *dua* moiety totemic headmen; but members of the *jiritja* moiety assist in the dancing, singing, and making of ritual objects, and may even include certain of their own particular dances based on purely *jiritja* myth cycles. *Dua* ceremonial leaders, however, are recognized as the principal custodians of indigenous ritual, for they possess not only the Wauwalak but also the Djanggawul. In contrast to the more conservative *dua* groups, the *jiritja* have incorporated introduced themes[1] into their ritual life.

[113] 1. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Secular Figures of North-East Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, 1949, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 213-222, with plates; Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; and R. Berndt, Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93-103; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People*, for publication.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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When these people had completed the *jelmalandji* emblem, they held another meeting "to think about the Wauwalak". "What are we going to do about the blood of those two women?" they asked one another.

The most important ceremonial headman, named Nga:ti (that is, termite, sometimes called "meat" ant, who was responsible for revivifying the Wauwalak), stood up; grasping the blade of his stone-spear, he cut his arm and let the blood flow out. "We make ourselves like those two women", he said.

Then other men got up; while some cut a vein inside the elbow, others cut the inner part of their forearm above the wrist, and all tied ligatures about their upper arms. This is a substitute for re-opening the penis incisure to obtain a flow of blood similar to that of the Mother Kunapipi: it should be remembered that a great deal of the original Kunapipi ritual concerns subincising groups.

As they let the blood flow they said, "Ah, very good: that is the blood of the 'Spring' Women (that is, afterbirth blood and the menstruation)".

"And what shall we do for the Snake's 'shout' (that is, the sound made by the Julunggul)?" they asked.

They built another *jelmalandji*, larger than the first, to represent the Julunggul who swallowed the Wauwalak. They smeared arm blood all over its surface, and on to it fastened wild cotton (or white feather down) to form a pattern symbolizing the Snake. "But it makes no sound", they said. "It is not like the Julunggul of the *djunggawon*, that when blown makes the sound of the Snake; nor is it like the great *unar* which 'cries out' when beaten. What shall we do?"

So they took a clean piece of wood, from the tree which the Julunggul had split by lightning (see previous chapter), and marked it with the Snake design. They obtained human hair cord, and threaded it through the hole they had bored at one end of the wooden slab. When they swung this object (the bullroarer), they could hear the sound of the Julunggul: "this is the different shout, for the Kunapipi side".

In this case, too, contrary information exists: and this bullroarer for use in the Kunapipi is sometimes said to be the voice of Lu'ningu. Its sound then is a "little bit low", spasmodic and quick, for this Snake was full from having eaten so many young men, and he was tired. In the *ngu:rlmak* side, the sound of the bullroarer is longer and heavier, for the Julunggul had eaten only the Wauwalak and the child. In the eastern *ngu:rlmak* rituals, however, the bullroarer is not used, being reserved solely for the Kunapipi. Such confusion in the identification of fundamental ritual objects is not unusual in Aboriginal religion; and for our purpose here it is preferable perhaps to conform to the original version, in which the bullroarer is said to be

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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the voice of Julunggul.[2] At the same time, however, the Lu'ningu Snake plays an important part in purely male sacred life.

The whole problem of interpretation depends on the distribution of the Wauwalak ritual among the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi* and *ngu:rlmak*. For example, the first is a re-enactment of the swallowing of the Two Sisters by Julunggul, and the performance of totemic ceremonies relevant to the animals caught by the women for food. The second concerns the swallowing of the young men, the presence of Julunggul after the swallowing of the Wauwalak, and a number of dances relating to copulation and procreation, stressing the theme of fertility. The third and final ceremonial sequence deals principally with the *murlk* shade, and with other Snakes including the Julunggul. All these rituals to some extent overlap, and the whole myth may be enacted to create a framework for specific aspects.

In the *djunggawon* the Python is called Julunggul and swallows the Wauwalak. In the Kunapipi it is usually known as Moiit, and in addition to swallowing the young men, and disgorging and re-swallowing the Wauwalak, is said to have swallowed the Nga:ti; but this is not substantiated by relevant mythology, and appears to be a Rose River addition. In the *ngu:rlmak*, the same Snake is known as *uwar*. As Julunggul is the commonest sacred term for the Python, it has been retained throughout this work, although some alternatives have been used.

In the Kunapipi, male neophytes leaving the main camp for the sacred ground are said to be swallowed by Lu'ningu, just as he swallowed the young men in the Dreaming Era; and in the old days they had to stop away from womenfolk from a period of two weeks to two months, symbolizing their stay inside the belly of the Snake. When the period of ceremonies is finished they return as new men (for Lu'ningu vomited up the young men dead). In the *djunggawon* the sacred ritual is associated more with women, because of the Wauwalak, and the novices may be seen constantly: "for those Wauwalak were vomited quickly, and were soon alive".

It is the practice, in the Kunapipi, to send messengers in all directions, notifying various groups that a ceremony is to take place. Young male postulants are also sent with their guardians, and their going symbolizes "vomiting". That is, in leaving their home camp and going to another some distance away, they are being vomited through the air to the strange place by Lu'ningu (in other versions, by Julunggul). And when they eventually return, together with alien groups who are to attend the Kunapipi ceremony, they are swallowed again "just as the Wauwalak were", or like the young men in the

2. In regions where the Kunapipi is more or less indigenous, the sound of the bullroarer is the Fertility Mother's voice, and the object itself symbolizes her uterus. *Vide* Chapters IX–XI. In other areas, the bullroarer represents the penis, and its symbolism depends sometimes on its shape and sound.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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796 The ceremony begins when messengers are first sent out to the various camps to notify other groups, and when the chosen initiates [203] (young boys who have gone through the *djunggawon* age-grading [561] ceremony) are taken away from their home camp. But it may be some time before the more serious parts of the rituals can commence.

796 In the meantime, while awaiting the visitors, the *dua* headmen and 778 the Kunapipi leader go out from the main camp and make a ceremonial ground or "centre" (that is "Sandy" or "Sunday") place; this entails the clearing of a ground which the men are in the habit of [534] using for such a purpose. The Kunapipi leader makes a bullroarer, its cord attached to a stick by which it will be swung; its painting and [533] anointing with blood (as described above) are accompanied by singing.

796 Some time afterwards, the first Kunapipi ceremony takes place in the main camp, "to let the women know that it is beginning". Men 533 sing "outside" Wauwalak and "outside" Kunapipi songs which summarize preceding events, while the women dance. These are 535 called *gulambiri*, or ordinary secular dances; although they do not pretend to be really sacred, they are nevertheless most important, for they put everyone into the mood for the coming rituals. Non-sacred *garma* (or clan songs) are also sung and danced. These may continue for weeks before the main rituals commence: but towards the end, the men, women, and children sing the "outside" Kunapipi songs with their rapid rhythm.

796 Out in the bush on the sacred ground[4] a man swings the bull- [534] roarer. There is a hush; the deep-throated sound of Julunggul is heard by all in the camp. In answer, the Kunapipi leader calls, followed by the cries of all the women: "they cry out just like those two Wauwalak, for Julunggul is sneaking towards the camp, as he did towards the *murlk*". *Jiritja* men answer, too, symbolizing *jiritic* snakes.

796 Almost immediately after this, the *jiritja* men take out the young 881 boys to meet the Julunggul (that is, if they have not been sent away to other camps; if they have gone, this part of the ceremony takes place when they return, with the visitors who are to participate). [302] The boys have been smeared with red-ochre and arm blood and,

[778] 4. The sacred ground is in the shape of a triangle. This is similar to the *djunggawon* dancing ground, and is said to resemble Julunggul's body. One side of the elongated triangle is classified as *dua*, and the opposite side as *jiritja*; but this is only for ritual purposes. At the apex of the triangle a hole is dug, symbolizing Muruwul: this is the *nunggaru*. The "inside" meaning of this triangular dancing place is said to be the Mother's uterus: men go into the uterus for rituals. This conforms to the meaning of the ground in other regions, for example, in western-central Northern Territory. The Kunapipi ground is arranged differently from that of the *djunggawon*, but retains its fundamental shape.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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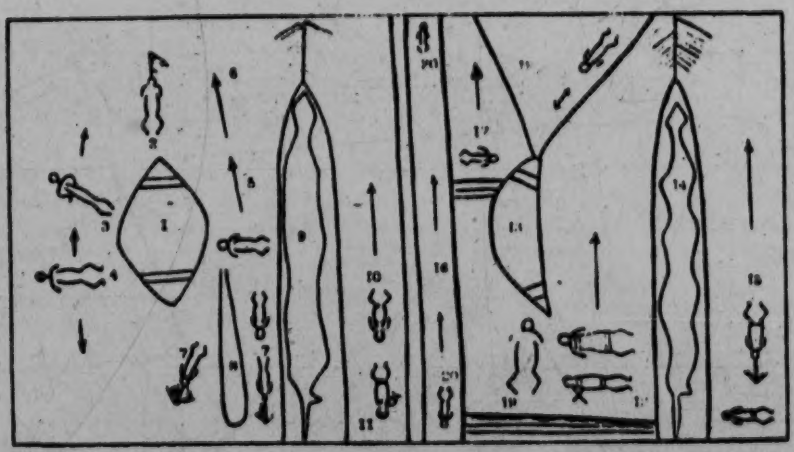
stand upright. This enacts the part of the myth relating how the Julunggul fall backwards because they have swallowed the Wauwalak (*vide* Chapter III): each time they fall, the postulants cry out. "The Wauwalak make them fall, but they are strong and erect themselves again." Finally, however, they fall back into the *kanala*. This is not yet the final ceremony, so the *jelmalandji* are taken by two *jiritja* men and hidden for use in subsequent ritual. Normally, the pushing over of the *jelmalandji* should be followed by the fire-throwing ritual and their subsequent burning: after this the opossum dancers (20) should dance around the *kanala*, filling it in with the action of their feet, destroying the encircling mound, and thus covering the *jelmalandji*.

As the neophytes and novices leave the *kanala* the bullroarer (17) is swung, with answering calls from the main camp.

The third drawing,[5] Plate XII and text figure 4, in red, yellow, green, blue, black and white crayon, repeats some of the above and continues the ceremony to its final stage; but some essential ritual is omitted here (such as ceremonial coitus, which is dealt with separately).



Text Figure 4.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XII.
Sacred dancing on the Kunapipi ground.

On the left of the drawing is the *nanggaru* (1): above (2), is the *dua mo:goi* Ka'lerika'lering (*vide* Chapter IV *et seq.*) wearing a

5. Reference: No. 134, *Field-Notes*, Book 19, Series B, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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intervals, until we entered the sacred ground where the *nanggaru*, the *kanala*, and one *jelmalandji* were ready. 159 787 796

"One *kakawar* stood (at *a*, in the accompanying sketch figure, 10) outside the *nanggaru* billabong, and the other (at *b*) outside the *kanala* "river"; and they called out. I stood (at *c*) beside the *kanala*. We then rested, while the two *kakawar* made the human-hair cord for the bullroarer (*d*); then one of these men (at *a*) covered his face with leaves, all hanging down from his headband.

"We called out again, and looked over towards the *jelmalandji*, standing upright alongside the *kanala*. From out of its bunch of emu feathers, we saw smoke rising: billows of smoke (*e*) coming from the top of the *jelmalandji*, but no fire. We took hold of the *jelmalandji* and placed it in the *kanala* 'river', which is really the Wauwalak's vagina. We put it in the trench, lying down, like a big penis. Then we danced around the *kanala*, 'taking' opossum dancing, pushing in the mound until the *jelmalandji* was buried and the *kanala* covered.

"After resting, the two *kakawar* men got the bullroarer, which had been left in the *nanggaru*; they attached the cord to a stick, wound it up, and swung it, and there was a big noise. All the women in the main camp answered it; and other men appeared, and erected a *djepalmandji* between the sacred ground and the main camp. The three of us came down towards it, and saw all the young boys hidden under the framework, and the women sitting in a bunch covered with blankets. And as I looked, I awoke". [534]

Gumuk mentioned that he had this Kunapipi dream because he was worrying about getting some tobacco to smoke. He was worrying and thinking about this, and dropped off to sleep and dreamt this dream. [828]

As in the last two dreams, the incidents mentioned refer to actual Kunapipi ritual. Gumuk did not try to interpret the smoking *jelmalandji*; but it seems most likely that his desire for tobacco, in order to smoke before sleeping, has been thus projected into the dream. It is not unusual for a secular activity of this kind to appear in dreams devoted mainly to sacred subjects. On the sacred ground itself, tobacco is considered *mareiin* (sacred) and may be smoked only by the Kunapipi headman (or other ceremonial leader) and the elders, although others may step outside the ground and enjoy a smoke in the normal way. In view of this, it does not seem necessary to search for an esoteric reason for the smoking *jelmalandji*; it is possible, too, in a ritualistic sense, for Gumuk to identify himself with the *jelmalandji* (irrespective of the sex of the Julunggul).

Gumuk reiterated his view that the *kanala*, a "river", is really the Wauwalak's vagina. The *jelmalandji* symbolizes the penis, which is removed from its upright position and placed in the *kanala* "like a big penis", just as happens in coitus. The opossum dancing around the *kanala* is, as has been mentioned, concerned with simulation of [831]

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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Illustrations

15 Calling the *bugali* invocations in front of the sacred *nara* shade, before the emergence of a totemic being. 144

16 The Goanna emblem emerges from the shade, which in this case is constructed from iron. 144

17 This design represents various sacred shades belonging to different linguistic groups. 145

Left-hand panel, top: sacred goanna on *djuda rangga* tree: the Djanggawul Brother with his *djuda* and *mauwulan* and beating sticks.

below: goanna on *djuda* tree; and sacred Goanna Tail *rangga*.

The two panels are divided by goanna tracks.

Right-hand panel, top: goanna on *djuda* tree; tracks, and sacred design.

below: goanna on *djuda* tree: one Djanggawul Sister with beating sticks, beside Goanna Tail *rangga*.

18 *Nara* postulants representing male and female Goanna. The Goanna Tail *rangga* rests across the younger man's neck. 145

19 The Djanggawul Goanna emerges from the shade. 160

20 Postulants in stylized attitudes, with the Goanna Tail *rangga*; sacred shade, at the Place of the Mauwulan. 160

21 Two men singing, rhythmically clapping sticks, and blowing the long, sacred Julunggul Rainbow Snake or Rock Python drone pipe, above the posturing sacred goanna of the Place of the Mauwulan. 161

22 To the rhythmic beat of clapping sticks, the Julunggul Rock Python drone pipe emerges from the *dua* moiety *nara* shade. Postulants are lying on their backs, huddled together, with the *rangga* emblem resting upon them. 161

23 Left-hand panel: Bildjiwuraroiju, Miralaidj and the Djanggawul Brother (top). The Two Sisters have long clitorises, and the Brother a long penis, which drag on the ground, and resemble *djuda rangga*. They hold goanna tail and 208

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The Djanggawul Myth

lindaridj parakeets flying over the mainland, the sun's rays catching the redness of their breast feathers. There was a constant roar of waves pounding on the beach. They paddled farther into the bay, coming to the Garingan rock, and saw the wide curving beach of Jelangbara. They sang with joy, and allowed the surf to take their canoe into the shallow water. 773

Then they dragged their canoe on to the beach and unloaded it, making this a sacred place. Jelangbara is the largest Djanggawul centre in north-eastern Arnhem Land and, to-day, the most important. [778]

Here the Djanggawul Brother wished to shorten his Sister's clitorises. But the elder Sister said, 'No, wait till we reach Arnhem Bay. We can have a good rest, and put Dreamings there.' So they walked around, still dragging the clitorises and elongated penis, leaving marks on the ground which may be seen to-day.

Leaving their canoe, the Djanggawul walked along the coast until they came to Ngadibalji, where they saw the *djawuldjawul* mangrove bird. Here too the Djanggawul Brother left his hairbelt, but retained the parakeet-feathered waist-band and arm-bands he was wearing. The hairbelt is now a long sandhill. On the sandhill, were track marks of the *damurmindjari* (*damburindari* or *waburunggu*) wild duck; these birds were eating the *murnji*, or wild peanut roots. On the opposite side was a large barren sandhill, on the surface of which were tracks of the *djanda* goanna, as well as of many birds. A *gamaru* tree with non-edible 'apple'-like nuts was growing there too. This tree is sacred; it is a *jirijiri* bullroarer tree,[1] and to-day only those who are very old may look upon it. Here the Djanggawul paused and heard again the cry of the *ngadili* (*dangadilji* or *rirambung*) black cockatoo. Here too is the sacred waterhole, *milngur*, which the Djanggawul made by inserting the *mauwulan rangga* pole: a spring flows from it down to the beach. It is said that the four Beings entered this hole, and made their camp within. [823] [778] [778]

Later, they walked farther along, and saw two *djanda* goanna resting on the peak of a sandhill. 'Ah,' said the Brother, 'I am very surprised to see this goanna. I had better put it Dreaming (*wongar*) for this country.' *Bangguli* is the goannas' 'inside' sacred name. The goanna crawled up the smooth surface of the sandhill, dislodging the sand. It attempted to climb on to the sacred *djuda* pole (that is, tree) the Djanggawul had placed there, but could not do so, because the Djanggawul were still there. To-day the *djuda* ironwood (or 'black' bark) tree is still there, at Mauwulanggalngu, where it grew from the sacred *rangga*. [824] [778]

[534]

[1] The connexion with a bullroarer is not clear, for this object is not now used in the *dua nara* ceremonies, but only in the *kunapipi*. *Vide* R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Chapters III and IV.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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79b
118
534

21. Clapping sticks and blowing the sacred Julunggul drone pipe, above the posturing sacred Goanna.

22. The Julunggul Python emerges from the sacred shade: postulants lie on their backs, with the emblem resting upon them.

[p. 92(F)]

177 hooks, beautifully carved, and light bamboo shafts),
411 all of which are foreign to the culture of East Arnhem Land but are very characteristic of the regions to the west and south-west.

In answer to my questions as to the origin of these objects, I received at first only the laconic reply "*warnba*", or "*warnbaŋor*",[34] west or from the west, lit. west-from, and when I pressed the enquiry further, my informants added "*birr-barlai!*", far away from, a remote place. *Birr* is used to signify very great or very remote, in time or space, e.g. *pämmän birr*—a very long time ago, in the dim past.

The boomerang does not really belong to the Arnhem Land culture, although fine specimens are seen there not
[431] infrequently. These are not manufactured locally and almost always show the character of the territory far to the south and south-west, from which they came. Their
[534] value in this territory is no longer as weapons for fighting or hunting, but for ceremonial purposes—as "sing sticks" or clappers for beating time—in place of the short heavy ironwood sticks called *birlma* used to beat time for *männikai* ("sings" or chants) which are the accompani-
[425] ment of each ritual and ceremonial act. Such *gerri* which
177 bear the halo and glamour of the celebrated exchange cycle,
411 are imbued with *marr*, with *virtu* or "value" apart
431 from their practical uses, and accordingly, some of them are used as objects of material culture and become ceremonial objects and may acquire a symbolic significance.[35] At first my enquiries elicited only the fact that these items

[34] *-ŋor'*, *-ŋoru*, suffix expressing "motion from".

415 [35] A recent example is seen in the case of the boomerang, to
435 which reference has been made above, but other examples are not
778 lacking. One of these is *butulo*, recognisable as the replica (*mälli* lit. "shade") of an old square faced bottle carved from a block of

11: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

the spot selected. After a good deal of massaging, which no doubt affords some relief, he applies his mouth to the spot and sucks vigorously. Next he takes a mouthful of water from a vessel placed in readiness, blows some of the water on to the affected part, and then convincingly ejects from his mouth some foreign substance which has been injected into the man by the *mali* (grosser spirit) of some *morkwoi* (dead person).[2] I have seen such things as small stones, pieces of charcoal, bones of animals, and bits of wood thus extracted. This foreign body is shown to the patient who, nothing doubting, immediately feels relieved and cheerfully pays the "doctor" his fee.

Some years ago our little boy was suffering from a distressingly severe attack of inflamed eyes, and a kindly old *marrngit*, through a fellow-tribesman, requested that he might be allowed to operate on him. Conscious of his kindly thought, and knowing he could do no injury to the little chap, Mrs. Webb and I consented. He thereupon came up to our house, and after carefully massaging the child's head for a while, clapped his huge bearded mouth to his temple, sucked hard for a moment or two, then turned round and ejected a mouthful of blood. The child was at least no worse after the operation. The *marrngit's* explanation of the affliction was that a donkey which constitutes one of our possessions, had come up, hung his head over the fence, and stared at the child playing inside the yard. The little chap had naturally looked at the donkey, whose evil gaze had done the damage.

The "virtue" or healing magic believed to be contained in the water of the ceremonial or totemic *mangotʃi* (pool or well) of the horde is made available by a ceremony known as *wontjurr*. In this district the ceremonial totemic centre is always some pool, well, or spring of water. In the ceremony of *wontjurr* a representation of this *mangotʃi* is made by scooping out a circular hollow in the sand. In this hollow the patient is placed, while all round sit his fellow-tribesmen and friendly associates. A certain chant, differing for each horde, is then sung over and over again to the accompaniment of *bilma* (clack-sticks) and *yiraki* (drone-pipe), and as it is being sung

[2] These two terms are often used as being practically synonymous, and the conception behind them is practically equivalent to the old idea of ghost.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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one end with bark. A hole is made in the side of the tube for a piece of curved tin or a thimble to hold the tobacco. Birds, animals, or men are sometimes carved or painted on the stem. As a special favour a man will promise a pipe to a friend when it is worn out, and after months of constant use, when the pipe is saturated with nicotine, the presentation is made. The recipient proceeds to crush the frail tube and scrape its interior for the handful of nicotine shavings; other men gather, a pipe is filled with the moist shavings, and with a coal on top it is passed from one to another. It is customary to draw only once or twice, and everyone fills his lungs with smoke, holds it as long as possible and reluctantly exhales. The mixture is so strong that a whiff of it will cause coughing and the eyes to water.

Clap-sticks and drone-pipes, or 'didjery-doos', are the only musical instruments known to Stone Age men. Drone-pipes are hollow tree-trunks, about four feet long and three inches in diameter, which have been eaten out by white ants. Men blow through them, and the low drumming sound can be heard from camps at night as the people join in the camp-songs. Clap-sticks, or short pieces of hardwood, are beaten together, and make a noise sometimes like the rat-a-tat of a kettle-drum. Nomads are musically inclined; they will sing from dusk till midnight for pleasure, and also in times of sorrow. Myths are transmitted and thoughts are expressed in song. Apart from songs with refrains, well-known theme-songs relate to Yulengor themselves, to camp-sites, sharks, the sea, rain, and canoes loaded with fish.

A 'camp-site' song has words and phrases fitted into the timing according to the fancy of the leader, and is interspersed by humming or the repetition of euphonious phrases. A song might go something like this:

'Coming to a camp' . . . 'men recline and await the women' 'Yanja, Wilama, Wirrwa', etc. (favoured camp-site names)